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Probers Cite Repeated Law Violations

Senators Rebuke FBI Over Spying

John M. Crewdson

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Domestic intelligence activities, principally the FBI, have repeatedly violated laws and the Constitution in investigating the political activities of hundreds of thousands of U.S. citizens, many of whom are innocent of any wrongdoing, a sharply worded report from the Senate Committee on Intelligence declared today.

The report, which was the first of a series of 15-month-long investigations of government spying in the United States, the committee said, rebuked the FBI and agencies for investigating many persons—often for no reason or none at all—employing as a matter of course illegal or questionable means, and for having acted without the scrutiny or approval of presidents and at times without the approval of Congress.

The committee, which has been investigating the FBI's activities since its inception in 1948, said it found that the FBI had uncovered a pattern of illegal and abusive acts dating back over six presidential administrations and four that was neither partisan nor the product of "a few willful" but an inevitable result of the "excessive" growth



J. Edgar Hoover



Clarence Kelley

of executive power unchecked by Congress.

J. Edgar Hoover was director of the FBI from its inception until his death in May, 1972. President Nixon named L. Patrick Gray 3d as acting director then, but he was washed out on the Watergate side before confirmation and Clarence Kelley was named director in June, 1973.

In addition to its conclusion

that federal statutes were violated, the committee found that "legal issues were often overlooked or simply ignored by officials of the FBI, the CIA and others, who in many cases failed to disclose candidly their programs and practices to their own general counsel, and to attorneys general, presidents and Congress."

Other major findings by the committee included:

- That a lack of precise stan-

dards for the conduct of intelligence investigations has led the FBI during the last few years to conduct nearly a million investigations of "subversive" or "extremist" matters, half of which resulted in the creation of a permanent FBI file, although no prosecutions have been brought since 1957 under the subversion statutes.

- That the "overly broad" objectives of the domestic intelligence community have been achieved through such "intrusive techniques" as small opening, burglary, sophisticated electronic surveillance and the use of informants, and that legal limitations on their use have been nonexistent, inadequate or, where they did exist, ignored by law-enforcement officials.

- That overt-action programs, like the FBI's Contingency, have interfered with the constitutional freedom of political association, disrupted groups that were "concededly nonviolent," risked or caused "serious emotional, economic or physical damage" to those who were unwitting targets of the bureau and, as employed against the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., violated both "the law and fundamental human decency."

- That presidents since Franklin Roosevelt, the aides and the bureau's congressional supporters have either requested or unhesitatingly accepted from the FBI politically useful information about opponents and critics, much of it gathered through a network of improper or illegal electronic surveillance that dates from the 1940s.

- That the product of intelligence investigations has been improperly disseminated by the FBI and other agencies, both within the government and to friendly "mass media sources," who were offered recordings on Dr. King's sexual activities and sensitive or derogatory information on others the bureau wished to discredit. The news sources in some cases provided the bureau with information or helped suppress unflattering articles.

Often Unaware

The committee also found fault with presidents, White House officials, attorneys general and congressional oversight bodies who, "although often unaware of details of the excesses described in this report, made those excesses possible by delegating broad authority" to the intelligence agencies to investigate subversion and political dissent without establishing "adequate guidelines" to control those investigations.

The 11-member panel, headed by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, concluded that "fundamental reform" of the domestic intelligence community was urgently required. It proposed that all noncriminal investigations be concentrated within the FBI, where they could be closely monitored by Congress and carried out according to stringent new safeguards that would protect civil liberties.

The 96 separate recommendations for congressional action set forth in the report included one, occasioned by the panel's finding that laws and liberties had been persistently transgressed in the name of "national security," that Congress "make clear" to the president and his aides that they have no inherent constitutional power to violate a statute.

The committee further proposed that no federal intelligence agency be permitted to undertake any activity not explicitly authorized by law, and that court approval be required in advance for the use of such potentially abusive techniques as wiretapping, the opening of first-class mail and unauthorized break-ins by agents.

The main thrust of the report was the constant disregard in which FBI agents and officials, and on occasion even the late Mr. Hoover himself, held the laws and constitutional principles they were sworn to enforce.



Jimmy Carter greets cheers after Pennsylvania victory.

Udall 3d in Primary

Carter Is an Easy Winner, Jackson 2d in Pennsylvania

By James T. Wooten

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter won the pivotal Pennsylvania Democratic presidential primary yesterday with a sweeping victory over the state's traditional political machinery.

The former Georgia governor captured impressive margins in the preferential voting everywhere except Philadelphia and its suburbs and took a commanding lead in the separate contest for delegates to the party's convention in July.

It was a major achievement in Mr. Carter's quest for the nomination and a stunning blow to the "big-state" strategy of Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, who finished second.

Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona ran third and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, who hardly campaigned here, ran fourth.

Despite Remarks

A New York Times-CBS News poll of 1,500 voters suggested the dominance of Mr. Carter's victory. Despite Sen. Jackson's support from the hierarchy of organized labor, Mr. Carter was stronger among union members than the senator. Despite his remarks about "ethnic purity" in residential neighborhoods, Mr. Carter continued to run strong among blacks.

In the Democratic presidential preference primary, Mr. Carter captured 37 per cent of the vote; Sen. Jackson, 25 per cent; Rep. Udall, 19 per cent, and Gov. Wallace, 11 per cent.

Anti-abortion candidate Ellen

McCormack won 3 per cent of the vote, as did Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania, who has withdrawn from the race. Two others who have quit the race, former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, captured 1 per cent each.

The voters were selecting 134 of the state's 178 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The 44 others will be apportioned on the basis of the candidates' shares of the statewide vote in the separate preferential contest.

In the delegate selection, with 90 per cent of the returns in, Mr. Carter led with 64 delegates; Rep. Udall, 23; Sen. Jackson, 19; Gov. Shapp, 17, and Gov. Wallace, 3. Forty-six delegates were uncommitted. Two districts, with the remaining seven delegates, have not reported and may not do so before tomorrow or Friday.

The state's 108 Republican delegates will go to their convention uncommitted, but nearly all are expected to be for President Ford.

Familiar Supporters

Mr. Carter's victory was forged among supporters now familiar to those who have followed his success this year—blacks and whites, young persons, middle-aged and elderly, Protestants and Roman Catholics, steelworkers, coal miners, and white-collar professionals.

Sen. Jackson, with the endorsement of Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia and the local Democratic leadership, won only in Philadelphia, and Rep. Udall, as he has in past primaries, drew substantial support only in this city's suburbs.

But the rest of the state was Mr. Carter's, especially the western regions, where, with the backing of Mayor Peter Flaherty of Pittsburgh, he overwhelmed the others.

The victory was fashioned in the face of formidable opposition. Most union leaders here, committed to Sen. Jackson but even (Continued on Page 3, Col. 7)

Spain Plebiscite Set for October, Election in 1977

MADRID, April 28 (UPI)—Premier Carlos Arias Navarro today announced that Spain will hold its first general elections in 40 years early next year. He also told Spaniards in a televised speech that they will be called in October to vote in a referendum on democratic reform that will make the elections possible.

Mr. Arias said that the government of King Juan Carlos was pushing ahead with reforms that will result in the "full recognition of political freedoms, with no exclusions except those who want to conquer power to impose a tyranny."

He specifically named the Communists as a party that will remain banned. As his speech was broadcast, thousands of construction workers struck in the first of a series of walkouts and protests called by underground leftist groups to mark May Day.

For the first time, Mr. Arias offered a detailed schedule of the government's proposed reforms designed to change the authoritarian regime set up by the late Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

Two-Chamber System

The two main points were a referendum in October on the creation of a Western-type two-chamber parliamentary system, coupled with other changes in the Constitution, and the election of the new parliament early next year.

Rejecting a break with Spain's past and any revolutionary solutions, Mr. Arias said that the proposed sequence of reform was a "rational solution allowing us to continue on a course of progress and improvement toward more ambitious goals, without squandering the rich heritage that was handed to us."

Spokesmen for the Christian Democratic, Socialist and Communist opposition rejected Mr. Arias's speech as "vague and insincere" and criticized what they called the lack of guarantees that the vote will be free.

Mr. Arias said that the October referendum will concern the following points:

- Creation of a two-chamber parliament consisting of a congress entirely elected by universal suffrage and a senate composed of appointed and elected members.

- Creation of a new branch of the Supreme Court, the Court of Constitutional Guarantees. Officials said that it will act as a watchdog against the violation of constitutional rights.

- Changes in the Law of Succession reducing the age at which a king can ascend the throne from 30 to 18 years and bringing women into the line of succession. Officials said that this relatively minor matter will be submitted to the referendum on the theory that an approval of changes in the king's succession

will amount to an approval of the Franco-installed monarchy as such.

Mr. Arias said that all government bills concerning reform will be submitted to the Cortes by May 15, except for a new electoral law that will be drafted by July.

The Premier said that the new legislation includes laws on the freedoms of assembly and demonstration, legalization of political groups and a reform of the penal code, doing away with restrictive provisions against political parties banned under Franco—and political activities.

Mr. Arias also promised a reform of the government-controlled trade union organization, tax reform to assure a more even distribution of wealth and a major government effort to get the lagging economy going.

He said that much of this program was open to discussion, but that the government would remain firm on two points—that the monarchy of Juan Carlos represent the continuity of the state in Spain, and that the Communists had no place in it.

"On this point I have maintained an unaltered and unalterable position," he said. "On this I am not neutral, but certainly belligerent. We are not as naive as to create a system of liberties in collaboration with those who reject them, despite them and seek their destruction."

U.S. Complains to Soviet Union On Ghana Snub to Kissinger

WASHINGTON, April 28.—The State Department has complained to the Soviet Union about what it called interference with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's plans to visit Ghana during his African trip.

Department spokesman Frederick Brown said today that Soviet representatives were told yesterday of U.S. dissatisfaction over the Soviet role in pressuring Ghana to cancel the secretary's trip.

The State Department also complained to representatives of the Ghanaian government in Washington yesterday following an announcement in Accra that Mr. Kissinger was not welcome.

Mr. Kissinger was due in Accra tomorrow night but Ghana withdrew the invitation, saying that President Ignatius Acheampong was suddenly ill.

However, U.S. officials traveling with Mr. Kissinger as well as those in Washington said the real reason was pressure by the Soviet Union on Ghana.

In Accra, the Ghana government has denied that the cancellation resulted from foreign influence.

The Ghana News Agency quoted an official statement as saying the government had planned a welcome befitting the secretary of state of a friendly country and arrangements for the visit were far advanced when unforeseen circumstances intervened.

In the event, the government of Ghana has regretfully had to request the cancellation of the visit," the statement said.

"The speculation that foreign influence had been brought to bear on the government to cancel this visit is wholly unfounded."

While flying from Lusaka to Kinshasa yesterday on the fourth leg of his African tour, Mr. Kissinger received a message from Mrs. Shirley Temple Black, the



Carlos Arias Navarro

Senators Reject Stiff Proposal

Panel Backs Weak CIA Watchdog

By Robert Siner

WASHINGTON, April 28 (UPI)—Senate Rules Committee rejected a proposal that have set up a strong intelligence oversight committee.

In place, the panel, by a 5-4 vote, adopted a substitute proposed by committee chairman Howard Cannon, D-Utah, which would set up a select committee with neither legislative nor oversight authority.

The original proposal, by the Senate Intelligence Committee, would have established a permanent standing committee with the necessary legislative and budgetary powers to make sure that intelligence agencies stay within legal guidelines.

The substitute panel would be only a study group, similar to the Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, chaired by Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho. The Church committee, in its first report, released Monday after a 15-month inquiry, favored a "permanent committee, as was recommended by the Government Operations panel."

Sen. Dick Clark, D-Idaho, a supporter of the strong-committee

concept, said the Rules Committee action was "a direct repudiation" of the Church committee's findings. He vowed to continue the fight on the Senate floor.

He said that the evidence taken by the Church panel showed that a complete change was necessary in the way the Senate oversees the intelligence community.

At present, intelligence oversight is shared among the Foreign Relations, Armed Services, Judiciary and Appropriations Committees with none of them having clear-cut authority.

Laxness Charged

The first Church committee report said that this led to a laxness in the oversight procedure that contributed to the illegalities committed by the intelligence organizations.

Sen. Clark charged that the substitute measure would merely leave the problem as it was. "As it is we have a very toothless thing," he said.

Sen. Cannon said that his substitute was an attempt "to solve the problem without taking the kind of steps that might seriously jeopardize our intelligence community."

Three Democrats and two Republicans favored the Cannon substitute and three Democrats and one Republican voted against it.

CIA Official Quits

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP).—The head of covert operations for the CIA is leaving the agency in the wake of the Senate report that criticized covert activities as self-defeating and recommended a sharp cutback in their future use.

William Nelson, 55, deputy director for operations, confirmed that he had announced his plans to retire at a staff meeting on Monday, the same day the first committee report was made public.

Mr. Nelson said yesterday that he retired for "personal reasons" and denied that his decision was linked to the report. His retirement takes effect May 15.

Mr. Nelson was a frequent witness before Sen. Church's committee during its 15-month investigation of CIA activities. He was placed in charge of covert operations in 1973 by William Colby, then director of the CIA.

After Title

The publicity about the Sonnenfeldt report strengthened the position of Yugoslavs who seek better relations with the Soviet Union. But these same Yugoslavs make clear that they would fight should the Soviet Union decide to intervene here after President Tito's death. He will be 84 next month.

Soviet-Yugoslav relations have deteriorated over the last 18 months because of sharp ideological disagreements and increased Soviet intelligence activities. Yugoslav police have uncovered several clandestine pro-Soviet organizations here with ties to anti-Tito émigrés living in Eastern Europe.

Although the 100 or so Stalinists arrested are not a threat in themselves, their backing by Soviet bloc countries is perceived here as having sinister implications for Yugoslav independence.

Moscow has given public assurances that it does not support the anti-Tito activities.

None of the House leaders repeated Mr. Ford's veto threat to the House during the debate but listed what they said was their own objections to the bill's restrictions on the President's conduct of foreign policy.

The bill authorizes the funding. Actual appropriations will be made in a separate measure.

"Most of the problems concern the ongoing rivalry between Congress and the executive branch over the conduct of our foreign policy," said Rep. William Brockmeyer of Michigan.

Rep. Brockmeyer, ranking Republican on the House International Relations Committee, and other Republican leaders, said their chief objections were to the bill's step toward opening

U.S. trade with North Vietnam and the new power of Congress to block U.S. arms sales around the world.

The bill set a \$3-billion limit on total U.S. arms sales overseas in any one year and strengthens Congress's previous power to veto any arms sale over \$25 million.

The bill also would remove the President's power to prohibit U.S. trade with North Vietnam for 180 days during which time North Vietnam could gain permanent U.S. trade ties by agreeing to cooperate in accounting for Americans missing in the Vietnam war.

The \$4-billion bill authorizes obligations for U.S. military aid and military sales for the fiscal

Ford Had Threatened Veto

House, Senate Vote \$4-Billion Arms Aid Bill

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP).—Ignoring threats of a presidential veto, the Senate and House today completed action on a \$4-billion foreign military aid bill imposing broad new congressional controls over arms sales.

A House-Senate conference report, which provides appropriation authority for 15 months ending next Sept. 30, was adopted by the Senate 51 to 35 and by the House 215 to 185.

Assistant Senate Republican leader Robert Griffin of Michigan told the Senate, "I think there is every reason to believe it will be vetoed."

President Ford had told Republican leaders that he might veto the bill because it ties his hands on foreign policy.

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RESULTS

Pennsylvania

DEMOCRATS

Carter	596,898	(37%)
Jackson	337,090	(25%)
Udall	256,294	(19%)
Wallace	155,911	(11%)
McCormack	28,393	(3%)
Shapp	25,451	(3%)
Bayh	16,537	(1%)
Harris	12,895	(1%)

Anti-abortion candidate Ellen

Russia Sees Peril of a Mideast War, Talks Geneva

MOSCOW, April 28 (UPI).—Saying that the danger of war in the Middle East is increasing rather than decreasing as the peace talks continue, the Soviet Union today demanded a reviving of the Geneva peace process.

The Palestine Liberation Organization must participate, a statement said, and that Israel has in the rejected.

A government statement issued by the Tass press agency, the Russians said the conference should be organized on two levels.

In the initial stage, the Soviet Union said, "it would solve the organizational questions may arise, including the procedure of considering the aspects of settlement (and) possibility of establishing appropriate working bodies."

This stage evidently would not be long one. After this, the conference could take up its basic task of finding solutions serving the substance of the conflict.

It goes without saying that representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization should be part in the work of both stages of the conference.

The Netherlands will be totally free of debts to other countries tomorrow following payment of the final installment on a Canadian loan of \$125 million obtained just after World War II, a Finance Ministry spokesman said today.

Before the war, the Netherlands was also debt free except for a loan of \$40 million picked up on the open market in 1924 and paid off over the following five years.

Netherlands Pays Last Debt Today

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During National Emergency

India High Court Upholds Suspension of Civil Rights

NEW DELHI, April 28 (AP).—India's Supreme Court ruled today that during a national emergency the government has the right to suspend virtually all individual rights.

The decision of the five-judge panel was a major victory for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government, quashing the last outstanding legal challenge to the sweeping executive powers she has exercised since declaring a national emergency and suspending most civil rights last June 26.

The decision barred political

prisoners detained without trial since the emergency from seeking their freedom through habeas corpus petitions to lower courts. The court upheld the government's contention that for prisoners held under the Internal Security Act, the grounds of the arrest need not be disclosed either to the prisoner or to lower courts.

The ruling came on a government appeal of lower court rulings that prisoners could challenge their arrests through habeas corpus petitions.

During the 37 days of argument, which began Dec. 15, the government argued that prisoners have no recourse in the courts due to a presidential order suspending a key article of the Constitution that says, "No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

"In times of emergency, the interests of the state must be placed above those of the individual even in respect of fundamental rights," argued India's Attorney General Niren De.

Attorneys for the political prisoners argued that the right to due process was not a "gift of the Constitution," but a fundamental concept of democracy which could not be suspended.

The ruling involved the cases of only about a dozen prisoners, but applies to thousands of other prisoners imprisoned over the last 10 months.

The government has not disclosed how many persons have been arrested, but officials have acknowledged the number is at least 10,000, many of whom have been released.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice J. Khanna said that even in times of national emergency "the state has no power to deprive a person of his life and liberty without the authority of law."

"Without such sanctity of life and liberty, the distinction between a lawless society and one governed by law would cease to have any meaning," he wrote.

Justice Khanna argued that detaining prisoners without habeas corpus would expose individuals to authorities who might "capriciously or maliciously" use national security grounds to vent "personal animosity."

He also expressed the fear that suspending the right of habeas corpus would destroy the equality of the judicial and executive branches of government.

The five judges on the panel read their separate opinions in court. None of the other judges joined Justice Khanna's dissent, making the decision 4-1 in favor of the government.

Cuba Is Cutting Rice Allowance, Gives Cornmeal

MIAMI, April 28 (AP).—Faced with production and import problems, the Cuban government is cutting the monthly rice ration for people in three provinces and substituting cornmeal, it was reported today.

Beginning in May, each resident will receive a monthly quota of three pounds of rice and two pounds of cornmeal, instead of the usual four pounds of rice, said a Havana radio broadcast monitored here.

Rice is a basic food item in the Cuban's daily diet, usually forming part of at least one meal a day, particularly for the poor. The move cuts the rice quota in the provinces of Havana, Pinar del Rio and the Isle of Pines.

The broadcast cited the high consumption rate of the staple product, problems in cultivation and the high cost of imports as reasons for the action.

The government has tried in the past with little success to get the island's 1 1/2 million people to eat other cereals and less rice.

Brazilian President Ends Talks in Paris

PARIS, April 28 (Reuters).—The Brazilian President, Gen. Ernesto Geisel, left for home today, assured of French financial and technological help for Brazil's industrial development.

The two countries agreed to cooperate in hydroelectric and other major industrial projects totaling high cost of \$10 billion, French and Brazilian officials said.

Greek Flights Canceled

ATHENS, April 28 (Reuters).—Foreign airlines canceled flights in and out of Greece today after their Greek employees began a two-day strike for higher wages.

U.S. Planning To Sell Arms To N. Yemen

By Don Oberdorfer

WASHINGTON, April 28 (UPI).—The Ford administration has told Congress of plans to sell \$139 million in arms to the North Yemen Arab Republic (North Yemen) to inaugurate a U.S.-Saudi-Yemeni relationship intended to oust Soviet equipment and advisers.

The U.S. equipment to be paid for by Saudi Arabia, is intended to modernize several infantry brigades of the mostly outmoded Yemeni Army. It has been equipped with Soviet weapons and assisted by Soviet military advisers for two decades.

The proposed sale, which is evidently only the first of several that are planned, is said to include howitzers, trucks and Vulcan anti-aircraft guns.

The Yemen Arab Republic has followed an increasingly independent policy in recent years, particularly since Col. Ibrahim al-Hamidi came to power in mid-1974. The trend away from Soviet influence has been encouraged by neighboring Saudi Arabia, which has far more money and international power but a smaller population.

Southern Rivalry

North Yemen's rivalry with the more radical People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Southern Yemen) has played a role in its turn toward the West and spurred its desire for military modernization.

Soviet and Cuban military advisers, Soviet political advisers and East German police advisers are reported at work in the South. The Southern Yemeni armed forces are reported to have more modern Soviet equipment than that supplied to the Northern regime.

U.S. and Saudi plans to take over the North Yemeni arms supply go back at least to the fall of 1974, when Yemeni shopping list for new weapons was turned over by Saudi Arabia to the United States. The Pentagon then sent a team to study the country's needs.

When the U.S.-Saudi deal seemed to bog down, a ranking Yemeni officer went to Moscow to discuss new Soviet weapons.

Moscow reportedly offered MIG-21 jet fighters and T-54 tanks to replace North Yemen's MIG-17s and T-34s, but no arms deal was reached.

Moscow, Cairo Sign Trade Pact Despite Cool Ties

MOSCOW, April 28 (Reuters).—Egypt and the Soviet Union signed an agreement today providing for bilateral trade this year valued at \$580 million, the Egyptian Embassy here said.

Deteriorating relations between the two countries caused the signing of the trade protocol, which was initiated in December, to be delayed twice.

But apart from this, Egyptian commercial sources here said, business dealings with the Soviet Union have not been affected by Cairo's decision last month to abrogate a friendship treaty with Moscow.

Chinese Aid Expected

CAIRO, April 28 (UPI).—China will deliver its first shipment of weapons and spare parts to Egypt at the beginning of next month, Al-Ahram said yesterday.

The shipment follows the Sino-Egyptian military protocol signed last week during Vice-President Hosni Mubarak's visit to China, the newspaper said.

Al-Ahram said China has agreed to begin repair immediately of Egypt's Soviet-built MIG fighter planes.

Silva Mind Control in Paris

Law May and November, Peggy Huddleston taught Mind Control to more than 100 persons in Paris. Almost all have directly reported the experience has enriched and broadened their personal horizons.

What is it? A scientifically-based system that dramatically frees the innate powers of your mind, increasing concentration, memory, intuition, creativity, ESP, and enables relief of tension, headaches, migraines, insomnia, control of diet and smoking habits. The course will be given May 11-16. It's upbeat, constructive, 600,000 graduates U.S. including hundreds of lawyers, physicians, bankers and university faculty.

Free introductory lectures: Wednesday, May 5 at 8 p.m.; Monday, May 10 at 8 p.m.

Place: 11 Ave. Vavin, a voice private opposite S.W. corner of Luxembourg Gardens, parallel to Rue Vavin.

Information: Paris, phone 504-03-54, only 5-7 p.m.; write: Mrs. Langhous, 4 Rue Dufrenoy, 75016 Paris.



Sen. Jeremiah Chirau (right) joins clerk in signing ceremony after Rhodesia Premier Ian Smith (left) named him one of four black members of formerly all-white Cabinet.

4 Blacks Are Sworn Into Rhodesian Cabinet

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, April 28 (AP).—Rhodesia's first black Cabinet ministers were sworn in today, joining the all-white 16-man Cabinet of the ruling Rhodesian Front government specifically to take charge of African affairs in agriculture, education and development.

The four black ministers—all chiefs who sit in the Senate, Rhodesia's upper legislative house—will be backed up by three black deputy ministers also sworn in today.

The deputies, all former civil servants who are among the 16 black members of Parliament in the 66-man lower house, are the first black Africans to hold these posts in Rhodesia.

The Smith government said it would appoint three more deputies shortly to fulfill its promise to bring 10 blacks into the administration.

A government statement released after the ceremony, which was attended by only four of Prime Minister Ian Smith's white Cabinet ministers, said the chiefs would "be responsible for general development in the African areas and will represent the views of the African people."

The chiefs are Kayisa Ndweni and Zefania Charamba, both of Matabeleland Province, and Jeremiah Chirau and Taffrenyika Mangwende of Matabeleland Province.

Mr. Smith has brought the chiefs into his government as part of a "new deal" he announced yesterday to allow the 6 million blacks of Rhodesia a greater say and more direct role in their affairs.

Appointments Criticized The state-paid tribal leaders have been criticized by both factions of the African National Council, the nationalist movement that seeks immediate majority rule—as well as by white opposition political parties.

In speeches and in nationalist newspapers chiefs have often been branded "stooges" and "sell-outs" because of their loyalty to the white-minority government and their support for security force operations against Moslem-tribe guerrillas of the ANC.

Chief Ndweni, 59, said in a television interview after the swearing-in: "In order to insure that we represent you [the Africans] views in the best and strongest manner we must have your support and cooperation. Our task also means the eventual end to intimidation and terrorism."

The largest white opposition group, the Rhodesia party, said Mr. Smith's "new deal" has persuaded it that he will never achieve a settlement between the nation's 374,000 whites and 5.7 million blacks.

Mr. Smith's "new deal" in bringing chiefs and trusted black members of Parliament into government, is seen as an alternative solution to constitutional talks that broke down last month between the government and leaders of the moderate domestic wing of the ANC led by Joshua Nkomo.

The British government—the final legal referee in Rhodesia's constitutional dispute—has made it clear that Mr. Smith must first make a genuine public commitment to set the country on a course toward majority rule within two years before economic sanctions can be lifted and Rhodesia can end its isolation in the world community.

Both the domestic ANC fac-

tion and the external wing of the movement led by militant bishop Abel Muzorewa, a U.S.-trained Methodist, support this stand and now look to the 5,000 to 6,000 guerrillas being trained in Mozambique to force the government to hand over power.

Already, according to local intelligence sources, about 700 of the Soviet-armed insurgents have infiltrated the eastern border, which runs 800 miles parallel to Marxist Mozambique—600 more than were thought to be in the territory last December.

The three deputy ministers are Paul Mingo, 48, a former district messenger with the Internal Affairs Department who later became an interpreter; Zeph-

nam Bafanah, 58, a teacher and former president of the Internal Affairs African Employees' Association; and Aaron Takawira Mungala, 54, a carpenter by trade who entered Parliament in 1970.

Washington Unsatisfied

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP).—A spokesman said today that the State Department feels that Mr. Smith's inclusion of four black tribal leaders in his Cabinet does "not meet our conceptions of what representative government means."

In addition, Frederick Brown said, "It would be most surprising if Mr. Smith's actions were accepted as a step forward by any responsible African leader."

Threaten Walkout at Paris Talks

Developing States Adamant on Raw Materials

By James Goldsborough

PARIS, April 28 (UPI).—The group of 19 developing nations at the Conference on International Cooperation threatened today to walk out of the conference unless the industrial states showed a willingness to negotiate, particularly on raw materials.

Speaking for the 19, Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela, co-chairman of the conference, linked continuation of the meeting to success next week at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) meeting in Nairobi. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will address that meeting during his African trip and propose the establishment of an "international resource bank."

Mr. Perez Guerrero, speaking to the press following today's stalled meeting, said that Nairobi would be a test. Reading a prepared Group of 19 statement, Mr. Perez Guerrero said that the conference here "would be jeopardized through failure of the UNCTAD meeting in Nairobi."

But both sides here made it clear today that the prospects for agreement on key points of raw materials stocking and financing in Nairobi were not good. The Group of 19, speaking for the developing countries in UNCTAD, have presented here and will present in Nairobi a far-reaching integrated commodities program intended to stabilize the prices of most important raw materials, and the income of countries producing them.

Bans Common Fund Stephen Bosworth, head of the U.S. delegation to the Paris conference, said that the United States could not accept a common fund to finance commodities. He said that Washington prefers to examine products on a "case-by-case basis."

Mr. Perez Guerrero said that none of the four commissions working here since February—raw materials, energy, development and financing—had made sufficient progress.

U.S. officials already have expressed their reservations over the developing nations' proposals. Yesterday, Gerald Parsky, assistant Treasury secretary, told a House subcommittee that the developing nations wanted raw

materials buffer stocks financed by a \$3-billion fund, with prices indexed to prices of industrial goods.

He said that the minimum the developing countries appeared ready to accept at Nairobi was agreements on cocoa, copper, cotton, hard fibers, iron ore, jute, rubber, sugar, tea and tin.

"The United States has made it clear," Mr. Parsky said, "that we cannot endorse this aspect of the UNCTAD approach to commodity problems."

While not rejecting the notion of buffer stocks, Mr. Parsky said that Washington was skeptical about their usefulness for the 10 commodities mentioned.

The international resources bank to be proposed by Mr. Kissinger instead will encourage

private investment in raw materials production in developing countries with a view toward reducing the risks for such investment.

Hironouchi Miyazaki, the Japanese co-chairman of the raw materials commission at the Paris conference, told the press today that it was clear that the Group of 19 was "dissatisfied," but that the industrial nations needed "to examine the concept of an integrated commodities program more closely." However, he held out little hope of any changing attitudes.

Both sides denied that there was any ill humor expressed during this meeting, but Mr. Perez Guerrero said he hoped the Group of 19 statement would be accepted as "a warning to our friends."

"We hope the industrialized countries change their attitude at Nairobi," he said.

The Paris conference got underway in February among 27 nations, 19 developing and 8 developed, including the European Economic Community sitting as one. This was the third of monthly meetings. There was hope of holding a high-level official meeting this summer if progress warranted it.

Mr. Bosworth denied that the conference was stalled, despite the differences that had developed. He described it as still in the "analytical phase" and said it was bound to develop slowly, "because it is an experiment—we have never participated in anything like this before."

Despite the Strasbourg clash, street demonstrations have been attracting less support.

Today's vote, following a 17-hour debate by national strike committee representatives here, was accompanied by a call for a meeting and television debate with Alice Samier-Selld, the secretary of state for universities.

Seoul Sentences 14

SEOUL, April 28 (AP).—The Seoul Appellate Court has sentenced 14 students from Seoul University to prison terms of up to 2 1/2 years for taking part in an anti-government rally on their campus May 22.

Bomb Wounds Seven In Central Jerusalem

JERUSALEM, April 28 (UPI).—A bomb planted in a car exploded in the heart of Jerusalem today, police said, wounding seven persons, including "five members of the security forces" and two passers-by.

The explosion occurred as the device was being dismantled by a police expert in the presence of several officers.

Australia-Angola Tie

CANBERRA, April 28 (AP).—Australia has recognized the Soviet-backed government in Angola, Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock said today.

To an Italian Premier

Lockheed Denies Knowing of Bribe

From Wire Dispatches
BURBANK, Calif., April 28.—The Lockheed Aircraft Corp. says that it has "absolutely no knowledge" of payments to an Italian premier to promote the sale of its planes.

The one-sentence statement from Lockheed late yesterday was without elaboration.

The U.S. government, after reports of payoffs by Lockheed in several countries, sent Italian officials documents regarding payments by the aircraft company in Italy.

Soon after the documents were made available to the Italian government, published reports said that they indicated money had been paid to an Italian premier during a Lockheed transaction that took place between 1968 and 1971.

The individual was not named, but the "three men who held the position during that period were Aldo Moro, who currently has the post, Giovanni Leone, now President, and Mariano Rumor, presently the foreign minister."

Resignation Expected

Meanwhile, in Rome, Mr. Moro opened a two-day confidence-vote debate in Parliament with all the indications that, barring last-minute surprises, it will result in his resignation. This in turn will be followed by the dissolution of Parliament to make way for general elections.

Opinion polls indicate that in such elections the Communist party could advance on the gains it made in regional voting last summer and oust the Christian Democrats from their 30-year-old leading spot on the scene.

The main part of the debate will take place tomorrow, with Mr. Moro closing it Friday night. It is not known whether he will call a formal vote or simply announce his resignation on the basis of declarations by the parties which have hitherto supported his minority Cabinet.

These include the Socialists, who have announced that they would vote against the government, and the Social Democrats, who have decided to abstain if there is a vote.

Mr. Moro said that his government might accept constructive Communist help in fighting unemployment but that it would never betray the cause of freedom.

"There is a sharp and often polemical difference between the Christian Democratic and Communist parties," Mr. Moro told the Chamber of Deputies. "We do not intend to haul down our banner, which bears the symbol of freedom. We remain firm against the danger of a bureaucratic collectivism and the ever-present perils for socialism with a human face."

"Moro has made a speech as if nothing had happened—scandals, public administration that doesn't work, economic troubles," Socialist Chamber of Deputies leader Luigi Mariotti said.

Leftist groups had threatened to stage counter-demonstrations with the aim of disrupting neo-Fascist rally.

News Analysis

Kissinger's Warnings to Italy Are Found to Cut Both Ways

By Alvin Shuster

ROME, April 28 (UPI).—Italians in all political parties, diplomats and others here have now had time to assess the implications of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's tough words on the possible role of Communists in Italy's government and have come to some general conclusions.

The consensus emerging is that the secretary's warnings are cutting two ways, with some damage to both the Communist party and the beleaguered Christian Democrats.

The feeling among many here is that the threats by Mr. Kissinger to "reassess" relations if the Communists share power should have little impact on the outcome of the forthcoming elections.

For the Communists, the Kissinger remarks are unwelcome because they stir fears among many Italians who worry about any strains between Washington and Rome, and who are seriously concerned that a vote for the Communist party would be vote for trouble with the United States.

"The remarks could hurt us in the long run," a senior Communist official said, "but underneath Mr. Kissinger is really trying to freeze a situation which is no longer tenable."

The untenable situation is, of course, the present political and monetary crisis, featuring a sinking lira and a Christian Democratic government on the verge of collapse, badly shaken by the latest revelations of Lockheed payments to Italian officials.

Elections Seen Certain

National elections now appear to be certain for June, a year ahead of schedule, and the Communists could well overtake the Christian Democrats as Italy's largest party.

Although Mr. Kissinger is hoping that the Christian Democrats will pull themselves together before the vote, his remarks seem to be generating some unease within their ranks.

"We don't want the United States to throw up its hands and say Italy is hopeless on the Communists can have it," a Christian Democrat said. "But I'm not sure all those strong expressions help us either. Most Italians know where the United States stands."

Further, there remains the debate over the more general international questions he raised—Italy's relationship with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the expected fallout elsewhere in Europe from any decision to hand even some power to the Communists. Where does Mr. Kissinger appear to be right, and where wrong?

These were among the questions explored this weekend at a meeting of the Independent Italian Institute for International Affairs, which sponsored two days of talks about the future of the country and invited Communist, Christian Democrats, businessmen, bankers and analysts.

The book gave no hedged answers, but said Italy's economic trouble "affected the growth of [Vatican] income," which comes chiefly from real estate and shareholding and charities.

As a result, the book said, Vatican's Prefecture of Economy Affairs under Eugenio Curi Vagnozzi, a former socialist, is likely to be the United States' arrangement for the study of available resources and for the introduction of reforms regarding the structure and pay system [Vatican] personnel."

The book said this would cost more than 3,000 Vatican employees and more than 1,000 red employees.

British Tug Ra

Icelandic Boat

Trawl Wires C

LONDON, April 28 (UPI).—The British fisheries protection tug Statesman rammed the Icelandic patrol boat Ver today the disputed fishing grounds in Iceland, an Icelandic spokesman said.

But the Defense Ministry said the Statesman had used self-defense after the Ver tried to ram it. Damage to both ships was slight.

Two days ago, the patrol boat Agdr was seriously damaged in a collision with the tug Statesman. The dispute between the two countries has flared up again the last week after a small hull in the so-called "red sea" in Icelandic waters was reported to be trying to ram British trawlers from fishing.

was the Ver's first appearance in the dispute.

Earlier today, the patrol boat Odin cut the trawl wires of a fishing boat St. Gertrud.



SHOWING THE WAY—A map of local roads aids motorists going through Hoechst, a suburb of Frankfurt. A traffic light with a long red phase, located across from the map, gives drivers an opportunity to see where they may have gone wrong.

News Analysis: Carter Emerges as the Most Likely to Succeed

By R.W. Apple Jr.

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter's decisive victory in the Pennsylvania primary has established him, at least for the moment, as the most likely Democratic nominee for president. The former Georgia governor's success in the preferential vote gave him the breakthrough in an industrial state he had sorely needed.

But even in his hour of victory yesterday, the shadow of Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota fell across Mr. Carter's path to the nomination. A poll of primary voters by The New York Times and CBS News showed that, if Sen. Humphrey's name had been on the ballot, he might well have won with about half the vote.

Mr. Carter and Sen. Humphrey are likely in the next 2 1/2 months to be the principal contestants for the nomination. Mr. Carter attempting to approach a majority of the delegates through further primary and caucus victories, Sen. Humphrey and his allies attempting to keep things fluid through favorite-son candidacies and uncommitted slates.

What happened in Pennsylvania, however, cannot have encouraged Sen. Humphrey. His prospects of promoting a state-mate have depended, to a degree, on the ability of other, active candidates to drain strength away from Mr. Carter, and no one now seems potent enough to do so.

The Favorite

The results here make Mr. Carter the odds-on favorite in the primaries in Indiana, next Tuesday and in Nebraska on May 11, where he was already well-positioned.

In the Texas primary, to be held Saturday, the former Georgia governor must face his first favorite-son opponent, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen Jr. John White, the state agricultural commissioner, is one of Sen. Bentsen's managers, conceded last

week that a Pennsylvania victory might give Mr. Carter a good chance in Texas.

Finally, in Michigan, whose primary falls on May 18, Mr. Carter will probably receive the politically valuable endorsement of Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers union. The endorsement has been desired several times.

Even if Mr. Woodcock remains silent, the Georgian's prospects in Michigan seem good. For all the stop-Carter rhetoric from union leaders here, the Times-CBS poll showed Mr. Carter as

the first choice of union members.

Mr. Carter's chances of success in the May and June primaries and caucuses would be further enhanced, of course, by the withdrawal of either or both of his two main active rivals, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, who finished second and third, respectively, in Pennsylvania.

Sen. Jackson has exhibited great staying power in the past, stubbornly refusing to pull out of the race in 1972, even when he admitted that his chances of

nomination had vanished. Rep. Udall has come this far despite losing every primary.

But both were crippled here, not only by their failure to stop Mr. Carter but also by the weaknesses in their own strategies, evident in the results in the Times-CBS poll.

Rep. Udall had nursed private hopes that he would somehow finish second in Pennsylvania, as he had in four earlier primary states. But he did not, largely because he was unable to break out of his largely suburban, liberal constituency into the mainstream of Democratic voters.

Big-State Strategy

Sen. Jackson not only saw his big-state strategy demolished by Mr. Carter, he also found himself publicly and perhaps permanently labeled a stalking horse for Sen. Humphrey.

"People may vote for a surrogate," said a friend of Sen. Jackson's plight. "But they won't give him money."

Both Rep. Udall and Sen. Jackson have been so in need of funds that they have had to curtail drastically their spending for advertising, now they will find it even harder to raise money at precisely the moment when they need advertising to fight losing images.

The senator apparently had premonitions of trouble in Pennsylvania. He met yesterday afternoon with members of his strategy council, and some of them reportedly pressed him to quit the race.

Same Proportions

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of Sen. Jackson's race here was his failure to capitalize on the support of the hierarchy of organized labor. According to the Times-CBS News poll, nearly half the Democrats who cast ballots yesterday belong to labor unions, but they voted for Mr. Carter in almost precisely the same proportions as other voters.

There were signs that the solid support of labor, the city Democratic organization and Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia helped Sen. Jackson. He narrowly beat Mr. Carter in eastern Pennsylvania.

But in the western part of the state, where resentment against Philadelphia runs high, Sen. Jackson paid the price, trailing the Georgian by almost 2 to 1.

Statewide, Mr. Carter capitalized on the unpopularity of Mayor Rizzo, whom he accused of bossism, running far ahead of Sen. Jackson among the 60 per cent of the voters who viewed Mayor Rizzo unfavorably.

By all indications, Mr. Carter's comments about neighborhood

"ethnic purity" played little role in the outcome.

For Mr. Carter, the demise of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama as a serious contender was a boon. Four years ago, the Alabama ran second here in the primary, with 21 per cent of the vote. Yesterday he ran fourth, with about half of that, and almost one-third of the 1972 Wallace voters, according to the poll, opted for Mr. Carter this time.

Carter Is an Easy Winner, Jackson 2d in Pennsylvania

(Continued from Page 1)

more deeply committed to Sen. Hubert Humphrey, openly assembled a "stop-Carter movement."

In addition to the local endorsements here, Sen. Jackson was the direct beneficiary of the statewide organization of Gov. Shapp, who withdrew from the presidential race last month.

Furthermore, Mr. Carter came to Pennsylvania immediately after his remarks on "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods and his strong appeal in the black community was thought to be jeopardized.

Still, against this array of impediments, Mr. Carter continued the quiet-spoken, home-state campaign that brought him primary victories in New Hampshire, Vermont, Florida, North Carolina, Illinois and Wisconsin.

He had apologized for the "ethnic purity" statements, brought in several prominent black leaders who campaigned for him, picked up the endorsement of Mayor Flaherty and outspent his opponents on television and radio advertising.

Reps. Heinz, Green Win PHILADELPHIA, April 28 (AP)—Rep. John Heinz 3d of Pittsburgh, heir to the huge food-processing fortune, won a close race against former Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter

for the Republican nomination to succeed Sen. Hugh Scott, the Senate minority leader, who is retiring.

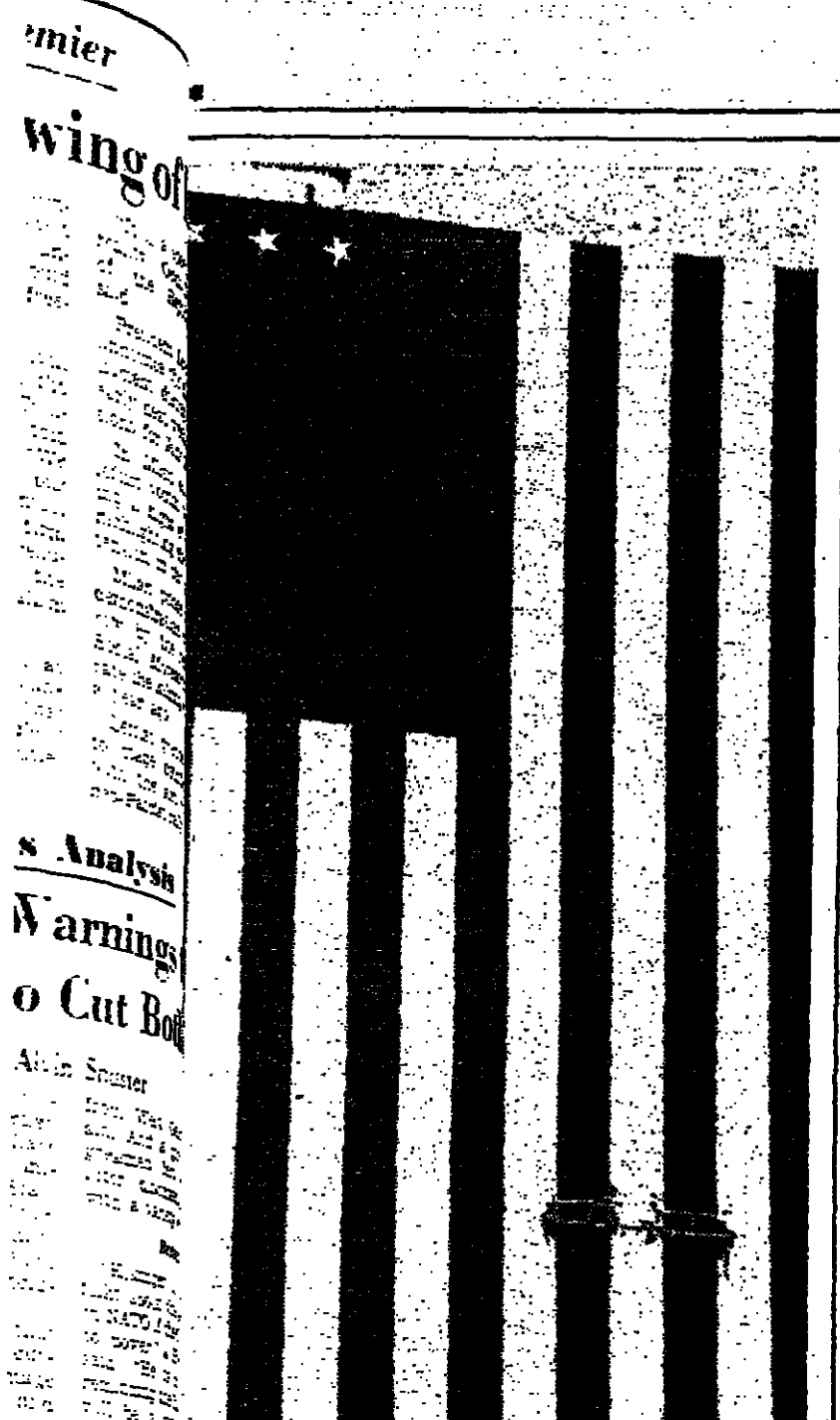
Rep. William Green of Philadelphia easily defeated state Sen. Jeanette Reihman of Easton for the Democratic nomination.

SALT Session

GENEVA, April 28 (UPI)—U.S. and Soviet negotiators met for 1 hour and 35 minutes today at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

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Associated Press.

INNER IDEA—Two painters on a scaffold are painting the side of the Vehicle Assembly Building at the Kennedy Space Center, Florida. Flag measures 110 feet by 269.

As High Court Strengthens Police

Ford Is Seeking Tougher Laws on Narcotics

WASHINGTON, April 28 (UPI)—President Ford, calling drug abuse "a clear and present threat to the health and security of our nation," asked Congress yesterday to enact an "aggressive" new program to combat narcotics, including minimum mandatory sentences for traffickers.

While the Supreme Court yesterday that it is constitutional to convict a person for a crime such as drugs when undercover agents supplied that person with

Harsh Friend and Not Guilty Bank Holdup

SAN FRANCISCO, April 28 (AP)—A woman who said she was a friend of Patricia Hearst, was accused yesterday on federal bank robbery charges stemming from a hijacking which a woman did.

A group of eight women and men deliberated for 6 1/2 hours before delivering the verdict in U.S. District Court. A woman was killed by one of four robbers. Mr. So-27, was acquitted of charges he took part in the \$15,000 robbery on April 21, 1975, at a National Bank branch in Sacramento suburb of Carmichael.

Soliah testified during the trial that he befriended Miss Hearst out of pity, later fell in love with her and lived with her a time last summer in San Francisco.

the drugs and other agents were the purchasers.

Three of the justices in the five-man majority said that as long as a defendant was "pre-disposed" to commit an illegal sale, no amount of government "misconduct" or involvement in the crime may bar the defendant's conviction.

The two other justices in the majority said that where the defendant is "pre-disposed" to commit a crime, "police over-involvement" in crime would have to reach a demonstrable level of outrageousness before it could bar conviction.

They also noted that cases in which police "over-involvement" would be sufficiently "outrageous" to bar a conviction would be "rare," if in fact there would be any such cases at all.

The ruling substantially strengthens the power of law enforcement on narcotics, where use of undercover agents and informers is the major tool.

In his message to Congress, President Ford said that the nation "had not won the war on drugs" and that, in fact, previous gains in reducing the abuse of narcotics were now being lost. "In human terms," Mr. Ford declared, drug abuse has become "a national tragedy."

The President asked Congress to give its first attention to stronger action against the drug trafficker.

Nothing that most convicted traffickers in heroin and similar drugs now receive short sentences or no sentences at all, he asked Congress to legislate sentences of at least three years for a first offense and six years for a second offense, or selling to a minor.

Mr. Ford said that the purpose of this proposal "is not to impose vindictive punishment, but to protect society from those who prey upon it and to deter others who might be tempted to sell drugs."

The President asked Congress

to enable judges to deny bail for defendants arrested for drug trafficking if they have previously been convicted of a drug felony, are presently on parole, are non-resident aliens, were arrested while in possession of a false passport or are fugitives.

He also asked for a change in the law allowing officials to seize boats, aircraft and other vehicles and property used to smuggle drugs up to a value of \$10,000. The current ceiling is \$2,500.

The President asked for a law requiring the forfeiture of cash or other personal property found in the possession of a narcotics violator.

He announced that he is establishing two new Cabinet committees. One would deal with law enforcement and the other would be concerned with drug abuse prevention, treatment and rehabilitation.

Mr. Ford also said he would order a tax enforcement program, saying, "We know that many of the biggest drug dealers do not pay taxes on the enormous profits they make on this criminal activity."

Full-Scale Bid Rep. Morris Udall said last night that despite his third-place finish he would continue a full-scale campaign for the nomination.

The Arizona congressman said he doubted that a limited campaign based on radio-television speeches, such as the one Sen. Jackson has indicated he will wage, would be taken seriously.

In television interviews earlier last night, Mr. Carter spoke combatively about two rallying points for opposition, Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

Awaiting Sen. Humphrey's move to enter the New Jersey primary or campaign for uncommitted delegates in that state, Mr. Carter said "I've got a single delegate in New Jersey, he'll have to fight me for it."

Of the labor leadership, which supported Sen. Jackson here, he said, "I've demonstrated I don't need the labor bosses."

Humphrey to Weigh Status

WASHINGTON, April 28 (AP)—Sen. Humphrey said today he may authorize an "exploratory committee" to assess whether he should become an active candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

With the "stop-Carter" movement failing in Pennsylvania, sources close to Sen. Humphrey indicated he will accede to requests that he take a more active role in the race.

In a television appearance, Sen. Humphrey, who was his party's presidential nominee in

1968, said he would meet with supporters soon. "I imagine they'll want to talk politics," he said.

Asked if he expected to be pressured to enter the race, Sen. Humphrey said: "It's already started."

He said that, despite Mr. Carter's victory in Pennsylvania, he doubts any candidate will win on the first ballot at the Democratic National Convention in July. However, he said, Mr. Carter "really has a leg up now."

But Sen. Humphrey added, two-thirds of the delegates to the Democratic convention are still to be chosen and there are 21 more primaries.

Sen. Humphrey said he would give consideration to formation of "some exploratory committee" to assess delegate sentiment in his behalf. He declined to say when he might authorize formation of such a group.

Asked if he wants to be president, Sen. Humphrey replied, "There isn't any doubt about that."

After Victory, Carter Speaks Of Party Unity, Healing Rifts

By Christopher Lydon

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter spoke in victory last night of healing divisions and reuniting the Democratic party, seeming to share the feeling among his top staff and cheering supporters that the Pennsylvania primary has almost sealed his presidential nomination.

"We've just completed the first phase of the presidential campaign of 1976 by wiping out every possible obstacle," Mr. Carter said before the ballroom crowd at the Sheraton Hotel drowned out his voice. "Now it's time," he went on, "to start thinking about other goals, like tying back together other elements of the Democratic party."

"I've finally won at Gettysburg," Mr. Carter said today, United Press International reported. He predicted his victories in the popular vote and the delegate selection would propel him to a first-ballot convention victory.

The goal of the campaign this spring, Mr. Carter said, had been to win 1,000 convention delegates by the night of the last three primaries on June 8. "As of tonight, we've gone over the 400 mark," he proclaimed.

His campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, said moments earlier, "We're not unbeatable. The people can stop us if they want to, but this makes the goal of 1,000 attainable."

Easier, Speedier

Mr. Jordan said that the popular victory here would make the bargaining for the remainder of the delegates a vastly easier and speedier process than expected.

Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington said last night after his defeat that he was planning to "restructure" his campaign in an attempt to take his message more directly to the public.

After congratulating Mr. Carter for having won the preferential contest, the 63-year-old senator said, "Naturally I am disappointed by the result." He added: "This has slowed our approach to the White House."

Declaring that he had "no excuses," he said the setback occurred simply because he did not get our message across.

Full-Scale Bid

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Ford Labels Reagan Views As Superficial

PORT WORTH, Texas, April 28 (AP)—President Ford, in a campaign speech today, questioned whether Republican challenger Ronald Reagan is equal to the burdens and responsibilities of the presidency.

Specifically, he accused Mr. Reagan of being superficial and irresponsible in his charge that the United States has fallen behind the Soviet Union in military capability.

U.S. military power has become the major issue between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan, and the President has repeatedly said that the United States is No. 1 as he campaigned for votes in Saturday's Texas primary.

Without mentioning Mr. Reagan by name, Mr. Ford told a forum in Tyler that "we should exercise great caution before heeding the words of a man who obviously has no experience and little understanding of the complexity of national defense matters."

"I believe that a man who is campaigning for the highest office in the land must be willing to talk seriously about his policies and the consequences of his policies," Mr. Ford said.

The President offered what he said was a possible explanation for Mr. Reagan's charges when he said: "Having failed on the economic issue... I know there's a reason why a challenger will try to shift his attack. It's called second place. It makes you try harder—and swing wilder, too."

The President raised the defense issue again later in Port Worth in an address before a bar association group. "I pledge that we will keep America strong," he said. "Not strong for the sake of war—but strong for the sake of peace."

Runway at Issue After Jet Crash In Virgin Islands

SAINT THOMAS, Virgin Islands, April 28 (AP)—The safety of the airport runway here became an issue today after an American Airlines jet crashed after landing yesterday. Officials said that 37 persons were dead or missing and 56 were reported injured.

Earlier, authorities put the death toll at 46.

Pilot groups have said that the 4,568-foot runway at Harry S Truman Airport is too short for jets, even though it meets Federal Aviation Administration standards. An American Airlines spokesman said that the runway is safe or the airline would not land there.

However, the spokesman said that the runway is shorter than jet runways at most other airports.

The crash was similar to one involving a Transcaribbean Airlines Boeing 727 on Dec. 28, 1970, in which two persons were killed and 110 survived. That plane also overshot the runway and slid up a hill near yesterday's crash scene.

Federal aviation administrator John McLeskey inspected the airport April 13 and the Virgin Islands Ports Authority presented him a \$50-million improvement proposal. FAA officials and airline representatives at the time described the airstrip as marginal in terms of safety.

KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

OFFICE FOR THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOUKKALA REGION

BUREAU DES MARCHES

EL-JADIDA

NOTICE OF INTERNATIONAL TENDERS No. 45/76
OPEN AS OF AUGUST 2, 1976

The Office for the Agricultural Development of the Doukkala Region wishes to equip—in the context of the Hydro-Agricultural development project in the Doukkala over-service area—the second stage of irrigation of 20, 22 and 23 sectors of the Zemamra project, representing a surface total of 11,300 ha. These Public Works projects are a result of the various international financing agreements.

The present competition concerns the furnishing and installation of mobile equipment of irrigation by aspersion in the 20, 22 and 23 sectors of the Zemamra project.

Interested contractors wishing to submit their bids are invited to withdraw the competition file from the management's office of the O.R.M.V.A.D., El-Jadida, before August 2, 1976, noon.

Burmese Guerrillas Kill 45 on Ferryboat

RANGOON, April 28 (AP)—Anti-government Karen guerrillas attacked a ferryboat, killing 45 passengers and wounding 75 others near Pasa, in Burma's Karen State, government sources said today.

The boat was plying the Andaman Sea between Pasa and Shwegon yesterday when the guerrillas opened fire from the shore, the sources said. A police guard on board returned fire, and the boat continued to its destination with the dead and wounded, which included women and children. About 50 passengers escaped injury.

3 U.S. Ambassadors Confirmed by Senate

WASHINGTON, April 28 (UPI)—The Senate today unanimously approved new U.S. ambassadors to Lebanon, Czechoslovakia and Kuwait.

By voice vote, it approved Frank Macerone, currently the second highest official in the U.S. Embassy in Egypt, as ambassador to Kuwait. Francis Meloy Jr., former U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, was approved as ambassador to Lebanon. Thomas Byrne, former U.S. ambassador to Norway, was approved as ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

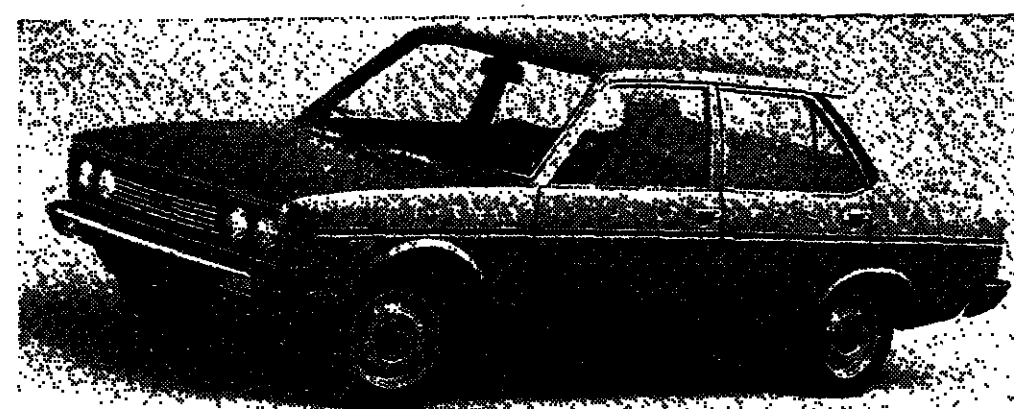
Eye-Safety Film Hard on the Eye

LONDON, April 28 (Reuters)—The British Aircraft Corp. has dropped a film on eye safety because it proved too dangerous to those who viewed it.

When the U.S.-made film, including vivid close-ups of an eye operation, was shown to 600 machine-shop workers as part of a safety course, one man fell off his chair and had to have four stitches.

Another man fainted and injured his head when he hit the floor. Several workers had to be helped from the room by colleagues.

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American Advisory Agency

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Calls In Party Heads

Portugal's President Seeks To Stave Off Political Crisis

LISBON, April 28 (UPI)—President Francisco de Costa Gomes intervened today in an effort to stave off a crisis that threatened to destroy Portugal's caretaker government and force the hand of the Socialists on their row to rule alone.

In swift response to an offer by the Popular Democrats to resign from the coalition, the President summoned all major party leaders to the Belem presidential palace for urgent talks.

During the morning he held separate sessions with conservative leader Diogo Freitas do Amaral and Socialist chief Mario Soares. He called for similar talks with Communist leader Alvaro Cunhal and Popular Democrat chief Francisco Sa Carneiro in the afternoon.

Cabinet Summoned

As these talks progressed, Prime Minister Jose Figueiredo called his Cabinet into emergency session to discuss the crisis, but the two Popular Democratic ministers did not attend.

A party spokesman said their absence did not mean they had left the government, but that it was considered "more appropriate" for them to stay away until the crisis was resolved.

Mr. Freitas do Amaral, leader of the Social Democratic Center, said his talks with Mr. Costa Gomes centered on the political impasse that emerged from Sunday's indecisive legislative elections and his party's reaction to

the move by the Popular Democrats.

The conservative leader called Mr. Sa Carneiro's action "inconvenient" and said he hoped the provisional government would be able to survive until presidential elections are held June 27.

Socialist Position

The Popular Democrats offered the resignation of their two ministers in the coalition Cabinet last night in response to a Socialist vow to form a minority government of Socialists, independents and military officers after the presidential elections.

"We do not want to unchain a crisis, but in face of the election results and the political positions since assumed we felt obliged to put our [ministerial] posts at the disposition of the Prime Minister," Mr. Sa Carneiro told newsmen.

His move was widely seen as a ploy aimed at forcing the Socialists to withdraw from their decision to rule alone if asked by the President after the elections.

The Popular Democrats added to the Socialists' discomfort by announcing they would support army chief Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes as their candidate for president. Gen. Eanes, one of the key figures to emerge after the defeat of pro-Communist military revolt last November, has wide support in the military hierarchy.

Portugal and NATO

LISBON, April 28 (NYT)—The navy chief of staff said yesterday that he expected Portugal to be fully reintegrated into the Atlantic alliance as a result of Sunday's elections, which will lead to a new civilian government, almost certainly excluding the Communists.

Adm. Augusto Souto Silva Cruz said in an interview that while his country had remained committed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since the revolution two years ago, it was understandable that some secrets were withheld while the Communists held important posts.

T. Garcia Rebull, Retired General, Dies in Spain at 69

MADRID, April 28 (UPI)—Retired Lt. Gen. Tomas Garcia Rebull, 69, one of Spain's most outspoken rightist generals, died today of a heart attack, the national news agency Cifra said.

A Falangist and supporter of right-wing causes, Gen. Garcia Rebull once summed up his political philosophy by saying "political parties are the opium of the people, and politicians their vampires."

Gen. Garcia Rebull commanded Falangist units in many of the big battles of the 1936-39 Civil War and then joined Spain's Blue Division, which fought with the German Army on the Russian front. He won numerous decorations, including the German Iron Cross.

After the war, he held a series of top military jobs, among them commander of the military region of Madrid, and also was a member of parliament. He became a reserve general in 1973.

Ivan I. Lyudnikov

MOSCOW, April 28 (UPI)—The army newspaper Krasnaya Zvezda today announced the death of retired Col. Gen. Ivan I. Lyudnikov, 73, after a long illness.

Margaret G. Moore

NEW YORK, April 28 (NYT)—Margaret Graham Moore, 33, of Greenwich, Conn., a passenger on the Titanic when the ship sank on its maiden voyage in April, 1912, died in Greenwich Hospital on Monday.

W. German Sex Killer Dies After Castration

MUNSTER, West Germany, April 28 (AP)—Juergen Bartsch, 29, a butcher's apprentice serving time for the sex murders of four young boys a decade ago, died today, hospital officials reported, after voluntarily undergoing castration in hope of gaining parole.

The officials attributed the death to cardiac arrest following the operation at a hospital in nearby Eickelborn. The district attorney's office in Paderborn ordered an autopsy and seized the instruments used to administer the anesthetic.

Zionism Assailed By Russia at UN

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., April 28 (AP)—The Soviet Union said yesterday that Zionism should be "universally condemned" along with the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa during the United Nations' "Decade Against Racism."

Soviet delegate Sergei Smirnov made this statement to the Economic and Social Council, which is considering a move by black African nations—backed by Egypt and other Third World countries—to restore U.S. and West European support for the decade by limiting it to its original target, the southern African white regimes.

The Western nations withdrew their support from the UN program last November after an Arab League World majority pushed through a General Assembly resolution declaring Zionism a form of racism and thus making Israel a target of the decade.

Top Hanoi Aides Win Jobs in Vote

SAIGON, April 28 (UPI)—Senior members of the North Vietnamese Politburo were elected and national personalities in South Vietnam gained National Assembly seats by overwhelming majorities Sunday in the country's first nationwide elections in 30 years, officials announced today.

At least 98 per cent of the eligible voters in Hanoi and Saigon gave a resounding mandate to the acknowledged national leaders, election officials said.

The winners will take their 492 seats in a joint National Assembly between now and the end of June, then arrange the formal reunification of the country, which has been split since 1954.

Enemy Invasion Just an Ill Wind

STOCKHOLM, Sweden, April 28 (AP)—Fifteen West German landing craft were sighted yesterday less than 500 yards off the southern coast of Sweden, and several units of the Royal Swedish Armored Regiment were issued machine guns and anti-tank rifles and sent to man the coastline.

The defense staff soon called to report that the West Germans were "merely seeking refuge due to bad weather."

But by then the defending force had decided that there was something unusual about the invasion. "They had anchored with their tails toward the coast," Lt. Col. Bertil Fredborg said.

Courthouse Is Bugged

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia, April 28 (AP)—Court hearings in Gentong, a town of about 50,000 persons east of here, were adjourned when caterpillars swarmed in over the walls, roofs and floors of the courthouse.



OOO-OOO—Simultaneous lefts hit home as two 7-year-olds battled in the 55-pound division of the Toronto park department's annual boxing tournament.

As Fighting Slackens in Beirut

Candidates Campaign for Lebanese Vote

BEIRUT, April 28 (UPI)—Fighting in central Beirut died down today and Lebanon's presidential hopefuls took advantage of the lull to step up their campaigning for election Saturday.

Muslim and Christian gunmen traded rocket and machine-gun fire in the port area and the city center. But combat slackened from overnight battles, when both sides fired mortar, rocket and anti-aircraft shells across confrontation lines.

Presidential candidate Raymond Edde held a series of talks with parliamentary groups and politicians, including Socialist leader Kamal Jumblatt.

After the hour-long meeting, Mr. Jumblatt did not officially endorse Mr. Edde's candidacy, but noted "Edde is our friend."

The leftist chief repeated his opposition to Saturday's presidential election "because it has not given the deputies enough time to discuss the situation."

Mr. Jumblatt had set a May 2 deadline for presidential elections but reversed his position when parliament's Rules Committee set Saturday as the date for the house to choose a new head of state.

Mr. Edde said that at least 10 more days were needed for consultations, but that the leftist parties would discuss a final decision on the election at a meeting later today.

(Tonight, the leftist parties called for postponement of Saturday's election. Reuters reported.)

(They issued a statement accusing Syria of exerting pressure to influence parliament in the selection of a new president.)

(The statement did not propose any new date for the election.)

Political Understanding

Central bank governor Elias Sarkis, Mr. Edde's chief rival for the presidency, said at a news conference that his first act in office would be "to call on all parties in the conflict to declare an end to the civil war. Only political understanding can bring stability to the country."

Mr. Sarkis said that he supported sections of the leftist reform program, but he refused to present a governmental program "because we do not have a presidential system."

Asked if he would call for foreign troops to enforce a ceasefire, he said, "I will not make my election dependent on answering this question."

Mr. Sarkis received renewed support after President Suleiman Franjeh met with Christian leaders Pierre Gemayel and Camille Chamoun.



Raymond Edde

Russians Propose a Renewal Of Border Talks With China

By Christopher S. Wren

MOSCOW, April 28 (NYT)—The Soviet Union today proposed that China return to their stalled border talks, contending that a Chinese re-examination of Moscow's standing "package of constructive proposals" could break the present deadlock.

The gesture was interpreted by some Western diplomatic analysts here as Moscow's first attempt to interject itself into the current domestic struggle in China by trying to woo moderates with the appearance of Soviet conciliation.

It was the first significant development in the chilly relations between the two countries since Peking's release of a Soviet helicopter crew four months ago. The return of the three soldiers, held for 21 months after their helicopter was seized inside China, took Soviet officials by surprise but did not improve the climate.

Today's overture was couched in a lengthy article in the Communist party newspaper Pravda on Soviet-Chinese relations. It was signed by I. Aleksandrov, a pseudonym used by Kremlin officials for policy statements.

The article attracted particular attention because it admitted that the Chinese territorial claim involved only 33,000 square kilometers—about 13,000 square miles—of Soviet border territory. As recently as last December, the Soviet press had cited a more

inflated figure of 15 million square kilometers.

But no specific concessions were advanced in the article, which continued to refer to China's "groundless claims." Pravda further made it clear that Moscow still would not accept Peking's prior conditions for negotiations—an acknowledgment that the territory was in dispute and a pullback of border troops from both sides of the 4,500-mile frontier.

The language and timing of the article suggested to some diplomats that the Russians were trying to encourage moderates in Peking to push for greater flexibility in dealing with Moscow. The appeal was made, however, in the context of familiar condemnation of the present policies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Soviet Union's campaign to isolate China diplomatically has been undercut by recent Chinese successes in cultivating once staunch Soviet friends like Egypt and India. Peking has seized upon Cairo's split with Moscow to offer the Egyptians free spare parts for Soviet-made aircraft and weapons. China is also resuming full diplomatic relations with India following their 1962 border war.

At least one diplomat saw in today's overture an attempt to head off Chinese progress while simultaneously convincing onlookers, including other Communist parties, of Moscow's reasonableness in seeking to mend fences with China. The split between the two Communist giants has hampered the Kremlin's efforts to convene a conference of European Communist parties.

Anti-Teng Campaign

PEKING, April 28 (Reuters)—China's official media today stepped up the campaign against Teng Hsiao-ping, prompting speculation that the former vice-premier may be expelled from the Communist party.

A front-page article in the party newspaper, People's Daily, charged that Mr. Teng had split the Central Committee and that his supporters had planned the April 5 political riots here.

Enemy Invasion Just an Ill Wind

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With John Lindsay as Guest Expert

Parisians Talk Over the City's Problems

By Jack Monet

PARIS, April 28 (UPI)—Parisians and a former mayor of New York City, John Lindsay, traded horror stories today on the problems of big cities. Mr. Lindsay felt the woes of Paris were relatively so tame that the French should cry: "Vive la difference."

Nevertheless, the Parisians were able to outline an array of problems that are rarely presented here in public in organized form. The fact that the discussion was being held, a speaker said, was an "alarm signal" on the dangers facing the city.

The occasion was a round table talk on "Saving the Inner Cities," promoted by the daily newspaper France-Soir and the French National Federation of Real Estate Agents. The inspiration for the meeting was the widespread destruction and construction in Paris in recent years that is changing the city's appearance and the nature of its population.

A peak of about 1,000 persons attended the daylong discussion at the Palais des Congres, but a few hundred of them were driven out when students of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, France's leading architecture school, distributed tracts and threw firecrackers. Mr. Lindsay, no stranger to urban dissent, grinned throughout the incident.



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City for the Rich

On one subtheme of the discussion, "Is Paris becoming a city for the rich only?" there was general agreement that it is.

Speakers noted that, between 1954 and 1968, high rents had driven out 120,000, or 26 per cent, of the workers and artisans in the city. They were replaced mainly by middle-level supervisory personnel and executives, a 40-per-cent increase.

The same high rents, the speakers said, were forcing out the elderly poor and blocking the entry of low-salaried young with children.

Meanwhile, Paris's population is dropping. It declined by 500,000 between 1954 and last year, from 2,850,000 to 2,350,000.

Yet, 64,000 new dwellings remain vacant. The reason, it was suggested, is an average price of 6,000 francs (about \$1,300) a square meter of floor space in new apartments.

Many of the new apartment buildings are what the French consider skyscrapers. A speaker noted that there are now 300 buildings of more than 17 stories in a city once characterized by buildings of only 6 or 7 stories.

Sen. Pierre-Christien Taubert, a former City Council president, or "mayor," of Paris and now a state secretary in the Interior Ministry, called the situation "a disaster."

Egypt Wreck Kills 11

CAIRO, April 28 (Reuters)—Eleven persons were killed and 52 injured yesterday when two cars of a passenger train went off the rails and crashed upside down at a village in the Nile delta.

Tunisia, Libya Agree To Curb Hostile Press

TUNIS, April 28 (UPI)—Tunisia and Libya agreed today to curb hostile press organs as of midnight, said a Foreign Ministry spokesman today.

The agreement, signed partly the result of mediation by another North African, Mauritania.

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Jelly prints

Struggling to Sell Prints

For the smaller roles La Scala's comprimarios displayed their admirable command of German (except, of course, Veriano Luchetti, who was the lyrical Italian tenor). Jurgen Rose's sets are handsome, traditional. They seem built to last, and—to judge by the audience's warm reception—this "Rosenkavalier" is unlikely now to be absent for any long period.

A special and rare virtue was the intelligible English of all concerned. Almost every word—too many of them ill-chosen from a singer's point of view—came over the orchestra with admirable and sometimes embarrassing clarity. Which just goes to show that it can be done—although it seldom is.

"Stay Hungry," directed by Bob Ralphson, isn't all bad." Vincent Canby says, "It just seems that way when it pretends to be more eccentric than it is and to have more on its mind than it actually does." Some of the "awfully good things" in it are: its picture of the new "go-getting South" where old money lives in harmony with new, and performances by Jeff Bridges as the oddball scion of

MANILA, April 28 (AP).—The Philippines earned \$755 million from tourists' expenditures during the past 10 years, the central bank said today.

Oilcakes, seeds, grain, mid-30s. German, 4 years University, 11 years International + Import trade A-1 multinational corporation, experience, open for management position in Germany, Benelux, Switzerland. \$60,000 p.a.

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Frankfurt, Germany.

Kissinger in Africa...

In the major policy address of his African tour, Secretary of State Kissinger has gone far to restore the traditional U.S. commitment to self-determination, majority rule, racial equality and human rights. Speaking in Zambia, Kissinger said with force and clarity a great many things that President Kaunda and other African leaders have long been waiting to hear convincingly from the U.S. government.

On the most explosive problems of a rapidly changing subcontinent, the secretary was emphatic: The United States is "wholly committed to help bring about a rapid, just and African solution" in Rhodesia; it will urge South Africa to fix a timetable for self-determination in Namibia, under UN supervision and with participation by African groups now banned there; and insist on the end of apartheid in South Africa.

For the first time, Kissinger avowed sup-

port "in the strongest terms" for Britain's recent proposals for negotiations leading to African majority rule in Rhodesia within two years. He seemed especially determined to quash any hopes of Rhodesia's white régime for U.S. support "at any stage in its conflict with African liberation movements." On the contrary, he said, "it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved."

As part of that opposition, he promised that the administration would again this year urge Congress to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which authorized importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of the UN sanctions against the Salisbury regime for which the United States voted. He also disclosed a \$12.5-million aid program for Mozambique and promised help for other countries bordering Rhodesia whose economies would suffer if they enforced the UN sanctions and closed their frontiers.

...A Forward Policy

These are major strides forward for a U.S. policy on southern Africa that has seemed for the last seven years to favor in many ways the bolstering of white supremacy, for all the official statements to the contrary. And on this occasion, Kissinger did not try, as he had during Angola's civil war, to frighten the Africans with the specter of Soviet hegemony. He confined himself to a brief warning against any outside interference in Africa or the pursuit of "bloc policies."

It is already evident, from Kissinger's receptions in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia, that African leaders are still prepared to cooperate with the United States if it sup-

ports their prime objective of majority rule in southern Africa. They will understandably be looking for a prompt follow-through on his Lusaka commitments, especially for action on such matters as repeal of the Byrd Amendment, and for the detailing of proposals for aid and conditions of trade promised for the UN Conference on Trade and Development next month.

But Kissinger has made an impressive if belated attempt to atone for past U.S. blunders in Africa—some of his making—and to establish a climate for mutually advantageous relations with a part of the world that the United States can no longer ignore in safety.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



Choosing a Warlord in Moscow

By Victor Zorza

WASHINGTON—The argument which seemed to have been won lately by the Moscow hawks could be reversed as the Kremlin begins the difficult process of choosing a new defense minister. The surface issue is whether the post should go to a military man, as it has in the past, or to a civilian, as the Kremlin doves urged when it last became vacant. The deeper issue is the extent to which the military should be allowed to influence the Kremlin's long-term policies and to preempt the decisions of the political leadership.

Before Marshal Andrei Grechko, whose death has now made the post vacant, was appointed defense minister nine years ago, the decision had hung in the balance for two weeks while the Kremlin factions were jockeying for position. Grechko's competitor for the job, Soviet defense industry boss Dmitri Ustinov, was then, and still is, the head of the Soviet military-industrial complex. He is hardly the personification of a dove—but he is a civilian. His job was to give the military what they needed. But he also had to try to control their appetite, to look critically at their requests, and to shoot down their demands in the Politburo when they were excessive—as the demands of the military always are, in East and West.

Struggle

What little became known in the West of the Kremlin struggle at that time received ample confirmation later, as new patterns became discernible in the permanent Moscow conflict between hawks and doves on defense spending and the direction of defense. While Brezhnev tried to restrain the military, Grechko kept urging the need for greater defense strength in speeches and articles which sometimes came close to constituting a public challenge to the Kremlin politicians. Even some Western skeptics who had always maintained that there were no real differences between the politicians and the military in Moscow, that both were equally determined to bring about the downfall of the West, began to have second thoughts.

With the slowing down of the pace of détente after the fall of Nixon, the Moscow hawks began to gain ground. They gained new strength from Brezhnev's repeated boasts of illness, which left him little energy to fight his opponents. The gradual hardening of Soviet policy which followed was due to the complex interplay of political factors in Moscow as well as in Washington, including the U.S. election campaign. But the net result of it all was a retreat of the forces generally identified with Brezhnev and an upsurge of the hawks' rep-

resentation in the public mind by Grechko.

In this change in the balance of forces in Moscow no small role was played by Gen. Viktor Kulikov, 54, the chief of the general staff that Grechko was grooming to become his successor. Kulikov threw himself with gusto into the Kremlin struggle and revealed, in the process, some of the issues which have preoccupied the Soviet leadership. These are also the issues which would enter into any debate on whether Kulikov or a civilian appointee should become minister of defense.

Policy Debate

Kulikov first showed his hand in a Pravda article, published over a year ago, which was ostensibly a review of a book on the role of the general staff in the early years of this century. The article was a disguised contribution to the Kremlin policy debate, using the lessons of history to urge a greatly increased role for the general staff in the making of the country's defense policy. But the role of the staff could be increased only at the cost of reducing the role of the politicians.

As Brezhnev's position gradually weakened, Kulikov returned to the charge in a military journal last year, this time drawing on the more recent lessons of World War II and spelling out his policy demands more directly. The importance of the general staff, he argued, had grown in World War II, and this had elevated it "even more emphatically" since then. Stressing the relevance of the lessons of the past in the shaping of present policies, he urged the creation of a new system of "strategic leadership" which, it was clear from his description, would give the military a greater peacetime role.

In stressing the importance of creating a "strategic reserve" and of ensuring a "quantitative and qualitative superiority over the adversary," he was arguing for the allocation of greater resources to the military. He was also addressing the politicians when he called for "realism" in strategic planning, urging an "objective" view of the economic and military potential of both sides. In the context of the Soviet debate, this was a protest against the attempt by some members of the political leadership to limit defense spending.

By the end of last year the new five-year plan, with its greater emphasis on the role of heavy industry, which produces the weapons the military want, made it clear that the hard-line argument had prevailed. The Soviet role in Angola showed how the new line was affecting foreign policy.

The slowing down of the SALT

negotiations is due to these trends in Moscow as well as to the political exigencies of the U.S. election year. It is difficult to say whether the chicken or the egg came first. But the growing concern evident in Moscow at the damage this could do to détente suggests that the Kremlin doves are beginning to stir again.

Grechko's demise gives them an opportunity to fill this post with a civilian, whether Ustinov or someone else, to regain some of the ground they have lost, and to begin a gradual process of rebuilding their strength. By the same token, the appointment of a military man, whether Kulikov or someone else, would be another in the series of setbacks they have lately suffered.

Still, the Senate committee report says that the CIA had covert relationships with "about 50 American journalists or employees of U.S. media organizations" until February, 1975, and continues to have relationships with more than half of these.

It adds that "more than a dozen U.S. news organizations and commercial publishing houses formally provided cover for CIA agents abroad. A few of these organizations were unaware that they provided this cover."

This invites the inference that most of these "news organizations" and "commercial publishing houses" knowingly provided cover for spies and still do so, thus leaving the reader without a clue as to which "news orga-

Newsmen as U.S. Spies

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—In its censured report on the overseas operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities confirms that the CIA has been using U.S. reporters, academics, and even religious leaders as paid spies, but refuses to disclose the names of those involved.

Moreover, according to the committee, this practice is still going on, and all efforts by officials of the universities, churches and the media to get the facts so that the practice can be stopped have been evaded by the CIA for years.

This raises troubling questions, "as to preservation of the integrity of American academic institutions." It does more than that: It casts doubt on the operations of all media, religious and academic representatives abroad without giving their institutions the opportunity of defending themselves against the corruption of their work.

CIA Assurances

Several observations about this:

• For years, leading U.S. newspapers have requested and received from the CIA assurances that none of their staff members were being used by the CIA as paid informers.

• The assurances usually given by the CIA was that this practice was common some time ago but had been discontinued, at least so far as "staff members" of the newspapers were concerned. Maybe some "stringers" or part-time space-rate reporters for U.S. papers were used, but even this was not common CIA practice.

• When detailed investigations by the House and Senate intelligence committees disclosed that this was not true and that the practice still continued, again the CIA refused to cooperate with the papers when the latter asked for a private list so they could clean house.

Still, the Senate committee report says that the CIA had covert relationships with "about 50 American journalists or employees of U.S. media organizations" until February, 1975, and continues to have relationships with more than half of these.

It adds that "more than a dozen U.S. news organizations and commercial publishing houses formally provided cover for CIA agents abroad. A few of these organizations were unaware that they provided this cover."

This invites the inference that most of these "news organizations" and "commercial publishing houses" knowingly provided cover for spies and still do so, thus leaving the reader without a clue as to which "news orga-

nizations" are innocent which are guilty of mis-

A distinction should be made here between contacts by reporters who are paid CIA agents, and those who are not. The latter are assigned abroad often in the name of the CIA, but have usually found their own way to be accurate, always complete.

This practice, particularly the Vietnam war, was exchanging of information between the reporter and the CIA to the benefit of both: the government is a "matter. Most reporters accept pay for going to America, lest they seem putting out the U.S. official propaganda line.

What is troubling about that President Ford's empty issue an order to stop the practice. Some have talked to him about it and he does not seem to care. Nor does he seem to care that he does not stop self or make available, in the media, the universities, churches need to stop practice themselves.

It is common practice, for Communists, to use what they call "porters" as spies, and the Western press governments have journalists as "cover" agents, but not most. War II, with the creation, OSS, did the U.S. go consciously to use its porters and academics.

Takes Time

The Senate intelligence committee report will now go to Congress for remedial action. No doubt there will be control by the Congress, finances and cover of the CIA. But this will take time.

The CIA itself has been planning, often with the press, its legitimate role in the publishing of its of its press. Here the CIA, and others have some ability not to subvert the profession or the essence of the CIA, but this does not mean the CIA trying to clear up the mess.

Nor does it mean the CIA is a spy agency, and all we need to call George Bush to the clear up the mess.

Snake or Snakes?

By Yves Laulan

PARIS—It is not too early to analyze the latest episode in the history of the European monetary system.

Once again loud voices are likely to be raised against the international monetary disorder, the chaotic state of the market, the absence of any fixed standard of reference—as if the writing of any new Bretton Woods agreements would, with the wave of a magic wand, bring the return to an economically ordered world.

What is often forgotten is that it is extremely difficult to write love into a marriage contract or part of a subpoena.

The Rambouillet agreements have proven unworkable, lament many observers. But what else could have been expected? Who could have read anything more into these words than what was there: a declaration of good intentions (which, it should be pointed out, was in itself an excellent thing) and not a sort of "open sesame" that would instantly solve any crisis. Indeed, as a U.S. official said afterwards, the Rambouillet agreements were only "an empty bag" that must now be filled.

In this regard it is amusing to recall some headlines invoking the "Bretton Woods" of the Rambouillet agreements—some headlines which apparently never existed. The capacity for self-deception occasionally reaches extraordinary heights.

No Miracles

The most flagrant example of this tendency to mistake our wishes for facts is found in past analyses concerning parity rates. There are no miracles in the world of economics. Sooner or later economic laws must exert themselves.

In 1975 inflation reached 5 per cent in West Germany, 7 per cent in the United States, 10 per cent in France, 20 per cent in Italy and 25 per cent in Britain. To imagine that these enormous differences would have no effect on the exchange market is yet another example of this power of self-deception.

The fact that economic factors do not have an immediate impact on exchange rates can be misleading. Exchange rates, moreover, are especially vulnerable to psychological pressures: It takes a certain amount of time for dealers in the market to feel the effects of what has happened. But when they do react, the result is shattering, often brutal. This is the moment when an economic crisis begins. The process of economic dislocation

builds slowly, then suddenly explodes. In this way, inflation continues until it reaches the breaking point. This is precisely when attacks are launched against certain currencies, at the moment when they are considered "weak."

If the case of the French franc is a particularly eloquent example, that of the pound is even more typical. I remember asking several British economists if, with a rate of inflation that had just reached 35 per cent, a flight from sterling wasn't inevitable. The answer, spoken with the calmness of a sage, was always the same: Nothing of the sort would happen. Indeed, what followed demonstrated exactly the contrary.

Another aspect needs to be examined. That is, beyond a certain point, floating exchange rates can have a cumulative effect. The rules say that equilibrium in the exchange market is supposed to return on its own. The fact is that after a certain point, when the crisis of confidence has become generalized, the market takes control. This demonstrates every-day-for-the-market how to find in the system of floating rates in no way permits the abandonment of an energetic deflationist policy.

And tomorrow? It has been shown that disparities which exist at the heart of the snake, between the economic policies of member countries, are greater than disparities with the outside. In other words, West German policy has more in common with U.S. policy than with French and Italian and British policy. European monetary solidarity is a laudable objective in itself, but it

can work only within very limits.

In the end what we need is a concerted action in the wages and prices. All this is window dressing. The principle behind the treaty, that the European community capable of adopting a policy vis-à-vis the dollar, have just seen that this is difficult, and that the dollar more in common with the deutsche mark or the florin than the deutsche has with the lira or the franc.

What will happen? In three groups can be found today: currencies with an inflation at 5-6 per cent in United States, the Netherlands, West Germany and Switzerland at 10 per cent (France, Belgium); and those at 20-25 per cent in Britain and Italy.

Linked to Inflation

In such a situation, it is to a European snake seems somewhat out of context, what about not one, but two snakes, which would be currencies, not one, but two, linked to the rate of inflation, not one, but two, linked to the rate of inflation. As a result, there would be a snake at the 5-per-cent inflation, the snake at 10 per cent, the snake at 15 per cent, the snake at 20 per cent, the snake at 25 per cent, the snake at 30 per cent, the snake at 35 per cent, the snake at 40 per cent, the snake at 45 per cent, the snake at 50 per cent, the snake at 55 per cent, the snake at 60 per cent, the snake at 65 per cent, the snake at 70 per cent, the snake at 75 per cent, the snake at 80 per cent, the snake at 85 per cent, the snake at 90 per cent, the snake at 95 per cent, the snake at 100 per cent, the snake at 105 per cent, the snake at 110 per cent, the snake at 115 per cent, the snake at 120 per cent, the snake at 125 per cent, the snake at 130 per cent, the snake at 135 per cent, the snake at 140 per cent, the snake at 145 per cent, the snake at 150 per cent, the snake at 155 per cent, the snake at 160 per cent, the snake at 165 per cent, the snake at 170 per cent, the snake at 175 per cent, the snake at 180 per cent, the 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